

# Noun Modification According to Norinaga and Nariakira<sup>注1</sup>

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**Abstract:** This paper explores the analysis of noun modification in classical Japanese carried out by the Edo grammarians Motoori Norinaga and Fujitani Nariakira in the 18th century. It is argued that the approaches followed by the two scholars are rather different, Norinaga paying more attention to meaning and Nariakira to linguistic form. Their distinct terminology is interpreted, and their analyses are compared with recent syntactic ideas. It is also argued that, perhaps due to the head final nature of Japanese syntax and morphology, both fail to distinguish between relative clauses, nominalized clauses, and nominal auxiliaries.

In this discussion we want to explore the analysis of noun modification in Japanese as developed by the Edo Period grammarians Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801) and Fujitani Nariakira (1738-1779). Although both belong to the tradition of Kokugaku grammar, and are in fact recognized as its founders, their ideas and approaches are rather different. After explicating their analyses and the technical terms which instantiate them, we will proceed to examine their ideas from a modern point of view.

The following passage from the beginning of Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o* introduces his analysis, and his basic terms *kiru* (切る, 'come to an end') and *tuzuku* (続く, 'continue'). Notice that these terms are verbal, and apparently refer to something about the meaning of the examples given. Such semantic relations may be localized (*kiruru tokoro*; *tuzuku tokoro*), or marked by particular linguistic forms (*kiruru tenioha*; *tuzuku tenioha*).

(1) すべての詞づかひに、切るところとつづく所とのけちめあることを、まづわきまへおくべし。(中略)

- (a) 花さきぬ
- (b) 鶯なきつ
- (c) もみじ葉ながる

などといふたぐひの「ぬ」「つ」「る」は切るる辞也。これを

- (d) 桜花散りぬる風の云々
- (e) 鶯の鳴つる枝を云々
- (f) もみじばのながるる川に云々

などといふ時は、

- (g) 散りぬる風
- (h) なきつる枝
- (i) ながるる川

注1 This paper was first begun about 20 years ago, and has been presented in oral form on several occasions over the years. I am grateful for discussion at those events. For general background see Bedell 1968.

とやうに下へつづけば、「ぬる」「つる」「るる」などはつづく辞也。

- (j) ちりぬ風
- (k) なきつ枝
- (l) ながる川

などとはつづきがたし。又

- (m) 花散りぬる
- (n) 鶯なきつる
- (o) もみじば

ながるるなどいひては、語切れずと心得べし。かくのごとくただに「ぬる」「つる」「るる」といひても切るることと思ふは、後世人のひがことなり。(p. 11)

First we must understand the difference between coming to an end and continuing. ... *Nu, tu* and *ru* in

- (a) *hana sakinu* 'flowers bloomed'
- (b) *uguisu nakitu* 'a warbler sang'
- (c) *momiziba nagaru* 'leaves drift'

indicate coming to an end. In the poems

- (d) *sakurabana tirinuru kaze no ...* 'of the wind which scattered the cherry blossoms'
- (e) *uguisu no nakituru eda o ...* 'a branch on which a warbler sang'
- (f) *momiziba no nagaruru kawa ni ...* 'in a river in which leaves drift'

in the phrases

- (g) *tirinuru kaze* 'wind which scattered'
- (h) *nakituru eda* 'branch on which sang'
- (i) *nagaruru kawa* 'river in which drifted'

*nuru, turu* and *ruru* indicate continuing since they continue to what follows. It is difficult to continue in

- (j) *tirinu kaze*
- (k) *nakitu eda*
- (l) *nagaru kawa*

Moreover, in

- (m) *hana tirinuru*
- (n) *uguisu nakituru*
- (o) *momiziba nagaruru*

we understand that there is no coming to an end. Thinking that there can be coming to an end with *nuru, turu* or *ruru* is an error of modern people.

Compare Norinaga's approach with the following passages from Nariakira's *Ayui syoo*. The basic terms here are *sue* (末, 'end'), *hiki* (引, 'pull') and *nabiki* (靡, 'bend'). Notice that they are nominal, and apparently refer to particular linguistic forms. One of them is used verbally (*nabikasu*), but this appears to refer to a morphological rather than to a semantic relation.<sup>注2</sup>

(2) 里言、装の末を失ひて常に靡かしてのみ言ふ習慣となれり。この故に、末を受けたる脚結に里言を当つるには、皆靡かして受くるなり。(p. 102)

In the colloquial, the *sue* of *yosoi* has been lost, and there is the custom of always using the *nabiki*. Therefore all *ayui* which follow a *sue*, follow a *nabiki* in the colloquial.

(3) 脚結の装に通ふこそ多かれ。末・靡を立てて心得べし。「つ」「す」「ぬ」「く」「かぬ」

注2 Nariakira's morphological terminology is rather confusing. For present purposes, we assume that terms like *sue*, *hiki*, *nabiki* and *kisikata* (see below, page 5) refer to the whole of an inflected predicate or auxiliary in some one of its various forms.

「らる」「しむ」などは末なり。「つる」「する」「ぬる」「くる」「かぬる」「らるる」「しむる」は靡なり。(中略)また「めり」「たり」「なり」「かり」「あり」「けり」などは末なり。「める」「たる」「なる」「かる」「ある」「ける」などは引なり。(中略)「べし」「ごとし」は末、「べき」「ごとき」は引なり。(pp. 102-3)

*Ayui* are like *yosoi* in many ways. They both have a distinction between *sue* and *nabiki*. *Tu, su, nu, ku, kanu, raru, simu* and so on are *sue*. *Turu, suru, nuru, kuru, kanuru, raruru, and simuru* are *nabiki*. ... Also, *meri, tari, nari, kari, ari, keru* and so on are *sue*. *Meru, taru, naru, karu, aru, keru* and so on are *hiki*. ... *Besi* and *gotosi* are *sue*, while *beki* and *gotoki* are *hiki*.

(4) 末を引・靡をも受くる脚結は、末を受くるが常にて、引・靡を受くる時は、靡に名を継ぎて受くべきを省きたる心なり。これを心得て、引・靡に「ノ」といふ里言を加へて当つ。「ノ」文字を名に代ふるなり。

たとえば、「と」といふ脚結、末をも引・靡をも受くるに、

(p) 人来と

と末を受けたるをば

(q) 人が来ると

と里し、

(r) 心の来ると

と靡を受けたるをば

(s) 心が来るのと

と里す。

(t) 心の来る人と

と言ふべきを「人」といふ名を省きたりと心得る故なり。(pp. 103-4)

*Ayui* which may follow either a *sue* or a *hiki/nabiki* are usually follow the *sue*. When they follow a *hiki/nabiki*, there is an omitted noun which follows the *nabiki*. Understanding this, *no* is added to the *hiki/nabiki* in the colloquial. This *no* stands for a noun.

For example, the *ayui to* may follow either a *sue* or a *hiki/nabiki*. In

(p) *hito kut to* 'someone comes'

it follows a *sue* and becomes

(q) *hito ga kuru to*

in the colloquial; in

(r) *kokoro no kuru to* 'with someone you love'

it follows a *nabiki* and becomes

(s) *kokoro ga kuru no to*

in the colloquial. This is because it is understood that the noun *hito* is omitted as in

(t) *kokoro no kuru hito to*

Nariakira's remarks presuppose his system of four lexical categories:

- (5) *yosoi* (装) 'robes' (inflected words; verbs and adjectives)
- na* (名) 'names' (nouns)
- ayui* (脚結) 'binding cords' (postpositions and auxiliaries)
- kazasi* (挿頭) 'hairpins' (adverbs and prefixes)

Some *ayui*, though distinct from *yosoi*, are also inflected. Thus *ku/kuru, ari/aru* and *hayasi/hayaki* are *yosoi*, while the forms listed in (3) are *ayui* with similar inflectional paradigms. Norinaga seems never to have established any set of lexical categories, and in any case he made no distinction corresponding to

Nariakira's *yosoi* versus *ayui*. Thus in (1) *tu/turu* and *nu/nuru* are *ayui* according to Nariakira, but *ru/ruru* is not a morpheme at all, but rather the final part of *nagaru/nagaruru*, which (like *ku/kuru*) is a *yosoi*. Yet all three are treated as parallel by Norinaga.<sup>注3</sup>

Norinaga also makes no distinction corresponding to Nariakira's *hiki* versus *nabiki*. *Kuru* is a *nabiki* as opposed to *ku* (a *sue*), while *aru* or *hayaki* is a *hiki* as opposed to *ari* or *hayasi*. A *nabiki* is formed by adding a syllable to the corresponding *sue*, but a *hiki* is formed by changing the final syllable of the corresponding *sue*. Otherwise, *hiki* and *nabiki* seem to behave identically in Nariakira's description of Japanese inflection, and he often uses the terms in conjunction as in (4). He could do so more often, since the fact cited in (2) applies to *hiki* as well as to *nabiki*. Norinaga uses only *nabiki* as illustrations in (1), but it is clear elsewhere in the *Kotoba no tama no o* that *hiki* also *tuzuku*.

There were many verbs and auxiliaries which made no morphological distinction of the sort illustrated in (1) or (3). Norinaga continues the discussion in (1) as (6).

(6) さて又、切るる所もつづく所も同じき詞もあり。「聞く」「成す」「持つ」「言ふ」「知る」などの「く」「す」「つ」「ふ」「る」のたぐひ、又「ん」「らん」「なん」などの類也。これらは詞のつらねざまにしたがひて、切れもつづきもする也。(p. 11)

Moreover, there are words whose coming to an end and continuing are the same. These are the *ku*, *su*, *tu*, *hu* and *ru* of *kiku*, *nasu*, *motu*, *ihu*, *siru* and so on; or *n*, *ran*, *nan* and so on. Depending on how these words are distributed, they either come to an end or continue.

It is quite clear here that *kiru* and *tuzuku* are independent of particular linguistic forms, and rather have to do with meaning.

Similarly, Nariakira continues his remarks in (3) as (7).

(7) また「む」「けむ」「らむ」「まし」「てふ」往の「し」などは皆、末と靡に通えり。(p. 103)

Also *mu*, *kemu*, *ramu*, *masi*, *tyoo*, *si* and so on are all either *sue* or *nabiki*.

The auxiliaries *n* and *ran* are mentioned by both, and Nariakira seems to be saying here that these forms may serve either as *sue* or *nabiki*. However he has no terms parallel to *kiru* and *tuzuku* to label the relevant semantic relations.<sup>注4</sup>

注3 That this is not simply a mistaken analysis of intransitive verbs like *nagaru* is clear elsewhere in *Kotoba no tama no o*. See passage (6) below.

注4 The following definition does occur in the *Ayui syoo*:

(12) 引・靡なき装の末をわたりともいふ。(p. 100)

The *sue* of a *yosoi* with no *hiki* or *nabiki* is also called a *watari*.

The *Ayui syoo sisetu*, written by a grandson of Nariakira, uses *wataru* 'cross' in ways reminiscent of Norinaga's *tuzuku*. See Takeoka 1961, p. 560. (12) is one of those remarks attributed not to Nariakira, but to the editors of the published *Ayui syoo*. *Watari* is not used in the *Koohon ayui syoo*, or in the main body of the published version. Regardless of who is responsible for it, it may reflect the influence of Norinaga.

That his terms *sue*, *hiki* and *nabiki* are not themselves to be interpreted as such is further shown by his characterization of those *yosoi* whose inflectional pattern is shared by the *ayui* in (7) as *sue ari*, *nabiki nasi* (有末無靡); that is, the single forms cited are *sue* and not *nabiki*, regardless of their meaning. Nariakira fails to clearly distinguish form and meaning, though (7) could be interpreted as implicitly recognizing such a distinction.

There is also a notable difference in the attitude of Norinaga and Nariakira toward the disappearance of the morphological variation in the words listed in (1) or (3) in colloquial Japanese. Norinaga calls this *noti no yo no hito no higakoto* 'modern people's error', while Nariakira calls it *satogoto no narai* 'colloquial language custom'. Strictly speaking, Norinaga is not incorrect in regarding usages like (m), (n) or (o) as inappropriate if intended to *kiru* in literary usage. Such errors might be modelled on colloquial speech, but the auxiliaries *nu* and *tu* have been lost and *nagaru*/*nagaruru* replaced by *nagareru* in the colloquial. Norinaga seems not to clearly distinguish between literary and colloquial Japanese, and in any case never uses facts about the colloquial language to explicate Japanese grammar in the way that Nariakira does.

From these differences it is reasonably clear that Norinaga is primarily concerned with the meaning relations which bind words together into coherent phrases and sentences, while Nariakira is primarily concerned with the formal pieces which make up words. Norinaga sees clearly that the morphological structure of words does not always reflect their semantic properties, and he thinks that it should. At the same time, his view of that structure is less sophisticated than Nariakira. By the same token, Nariakira is often led to consider the semantic properties of morphological structure, but his conception of this is not explicit and apparently less sophisticated than Norinaga.

In later terminology, *tuzuku* was found to be unsatisfactory for the reason pointed out by Motoori Haruniwa in his *Kotoba no yatimata*.

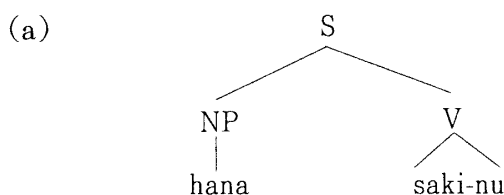
(8) すべて続く詞といふは躰言へつづくをいふなり。ただし用言へつづくは活も別にてそはうちまかせてはつづく詞とはいはざるなり。(p.27)

All words which are said to continue continue to a noun. However, those which continue to a verb or adjective have a different form and are usually not said to continue.

Though Norinaga does not mention this third inflected form in *Kotoba no tama no o*, Nariakira called it a *kisikata* (往, 'departure'), parallel to *sue* and *hiki*/*nabiki*. Gimon, in his *Katugo sinan*, introduced the terms *setudangen* (截断言) for *sue*, *rentaigen* (連体言) for *hiki*/*nabiki*, and *renyoogen* (連用言) for *kisikata*. These survive into modern Japanese grammar as *syuusikei* (終止形), *rentaikei* (連体形) and *renyookei* (連用形), respectively. Interestingly, this later terminology is a genuine synthesis of Norinaga and Nariakira: it retains the formal reference of

the latter and incorporates the semantic ideas of the former.

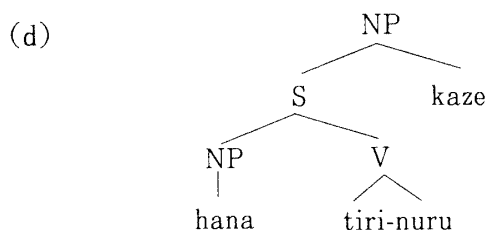
We are now prepared to undertake an evaluation and interpretation of the analyses we are concerned with: what Norinaga calls *kiru* and *tuzuku*, and which Nariakira seems to imply, but has no terms for. We argued that these terms are verbs which refer to semantic relations between words or phrases. One question which arises then is what words or phrases enter into these relations. What does Norinaga understand to be the subject of *kiru* and *tuzuku*? If *nu* in (a) marks where something comes to an end, what comes to an end there? Let us assume that the structure of (a) is something like the following.



If so, then there are three pieces of the sentence which end in *nu*: the perfect auxiliary *-nu*, the verb *sakinu* and the sentence *hana sakinu*.<sup>註5</sup>

Since Norinaga's notion of syntactic or morphological structure is extremely vague, it is not surprising that he makes no explicit choice among these possibilities. He does say in (1) that *nu* is a *kiruru tenioha*. This could be taken to mean that it is *nu* which comes to an end; Nariakira's classification of *nu* as the *sue* of an *ayui* whose *nabiki* is *nuru* is consistent with this and suggests that the subject of *kiru* should be the perfect auxiliary. On the other hand, as we saw, it is not very clear that Norinaga analyzes the verb *sakinu* into stem and auxiliary. Even if he is interpreted as recognizing this aspect of the structure, there is no reason to believe that a semantic relation like *kiru* must reflect the morphological structure.

The same possibilities arise for *tuzuku* as for *kiru*. What does Norinaga understand to be the subject of *tuzuku*? If *nuru* in (d) marks where something continues, what continues there? *Tuzuku* differs from *kiru* in implying a goal in addition to a subject. What does Norinaga understand to be the goal of *tuzuku*? If *nuru* in (d) marks where something continues, what does it continue to? Let us once again assume that the structure of (d) is something like the following.



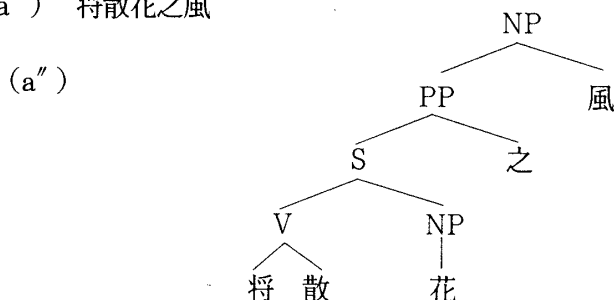
註5 It can be argued that the morphological division should be *sak-inu* or *sak-i-nu* rather than *saki-nu*; but the latter is closer to Nariakira's approach.

For the subject of *tuzuku* (d) offers the same three possibilities as (a): the perfect auxiliary *nuru*, the verb *tirinuru* or the clause *hana tirinuru*.<sup>注6</sup> In the case of the goal, in (1) Norinaga does say explicitly *sita e tuzukeba* 'since they continue to what follows'. This is perhaps not wholly satisfactory, but there is only one possibility in this case: the noun *kaze*.

What then is the most plausible interpretation of Norinaga's terms *kiru* and *tuzuku*? If they are correctly understood as basically semantic rather than morphological or syntactic, surely it makes no sense to apply them to the auxiliary *nu/ru* or to the verb *sakinu* or *tirinuru*. Rather they make sense as applied to *hana sakinu* or *hana tirinuru* as wholes. *Hana sakinu* constitutes a semantically independent proposition, and *hana tirinuru* a clause which semantically modifies the noun *kaze*. This is the interpretation given to *syuusi* and *rentai* in the traditional Japanese analysis of inflection, notions which can be traced back to Norinaga, and it provides a reasonable framework in which to understand his remarks. Nothing which he says is inconsistent with this interpretation, but he is not thinking of structures like (a) or (d) above.

Why then does Norinaga fail to explicitly say that sentences or clauses *kiru* or *tuzuku*? Part of the answer surely lies in the head-final word order characteristic of Japanese: within a sentence or clause, the verb or adjective is the final word, and within the verb or adjective, the auxiliary is the final element. Thus the options noted for how *kiru* or *tuzuku* might be interpreted. In literary Chinese, this vagueness would not be so easy to maintain.

(a'') 将散花之風



That is, if we were to apply these notions by saying that 之 is a *kiruru tenioha*, its subject could not plausibly be taken as anything but 将散花 'be about to scatter flowers'; in particular, interpreting it as continuing the immediately preceding word 花 'flowers' would be quite unnatural.<sup>注7</sup>

Nariakira has little to say bearing on the question of the subject of *kiru*

注6 The same point may be made about *tirinuru* in (d) as about *sakinu* in (a). See the previous footnote.

注7 Matsushita (1931, p. 255) says: 「故郷へ帰るの人」と云ふ場合に漢文では「帰故郷之人」であって「之」は「故郷」を隔てて「帰」を受ける。故郷の人ではない、帰るの人である。「故郷」は唯「帰」の場所を示すものに過ぎない。「之」は「故郷」とは何の関係もないのである。之を弁ずる人は「之」は「帰」と受けるのではなく、「帰故郷」の全体を受けるのであると云ふであらう。其れはそう云へる。併し「之」が単に連体格の記号たる助辞であるならば「故郷」といふ名詞を隔てずに「帰」といふ動詞に直附せらるべきである。Note that Matsushita's argument is based on the notion of verbal *rentaikaku*, which is appropriate for Japanese, but surely not for Chinese.

or *tuzuku*, but his treatment of the goal of *tuzuku* is of considerable interest. That the goal is the noun which follows the sentence or clause is the obvious interpretation; but in (4) Nariakira considers an example (q) in which no such noun is present. Norinaga does not consider such cases, unless we count his discussion in (1) of (m), (n) and (o). But there he is primarily interested in his prescriptive point. Nariakira's claim is that when no following noun is present, one is felt to have been omitted. He cites two pieces of evidence in support of this claim: that in the colloquial *no* appears in the corresponding examples, and that it is often possible to insert a noun into the construction preserving the meaning. We noted that in his discussion of inflection, Nariakira does not seem to distinguish between morphological or syntactic structure and semantic structure. But his analysis of omitted nouns can be interpreted as showing that he too made such a distinction. These omitted nouns are precisely semantic but not syntactic entities.

Nariakira in fact refers to the use of this 'pronoun' *no* often. (9), (10) and (11) are relevant portions of his discussion of the *ayui wa*, *namu* and *nari*.

(9) 装の引・靡を受けたるは(里)「ノハ」と言ふ。「言ふは」「わびしきは」の類なり。(p. 189)

When it (*wa*) follows the *hiki/nabiki* of a *yosoi*, the colloquial says *no wa*. As in *ihu wa* or *wabisiki wa*.

(10) 名・挿頭を受くる時(里)「ガナ」と言ふ。引・靡を受くる時「ノガナ」と言ふ。(中略) 桜花 山に咲くなむ(ノガナ) 里のには まさと聞くを 見ぬがわびしさ (p. 255)

When it (*namu*) follows a noun or *kazasi*, the colloquial says *gana*. When it follows a *hiki/nabiki*, it says *no gana*. ...  
*sakurabana yama ni saku namu (no gana)*  
*sato no ni wa masaru to kiku o minu ga wabisisa*

(11) 里に「チャ」また「デアル」など言へり。靡を受けては「ノデアル」「ノチャ」など里す。  
 (中略) 先立たぬ 悔の八千たび 悲しきは 流るる水の 返り来ぬなり(ノデアル) (p. 301)

It (*nari*) can be said as *zya* or *dearu* in the colloquial. When it follows a *nabiki*, the colloquial says *no zya* or *no de aru*.  
*sakidatanu kui no yatitabi kanasiki wa nagaruru mizu no kaerikonu nari (no de aru)*

The verbs *ihu* and *saku* and the negative auxiliary *nu* in the examples given must be functioning as *hiki* or *nabiki* even though they are morphologically *sue*. This is because, unlike the *ayui* to referred to in (1), Nariakira does not regard *wa*, *namu* or *nari* as being able to follow a *sue*.



It is not entirely clear what Nariakira takes the connection between the omitted nouns and colloquial *no* to be. He seems to assume that because the noun is felt to be omitted in the literary language, *no* appears in the colloquial. If this is intended as a synchronic connection, it makes sense only after a distinction between the two had arisen. But how do we know that it was not the emergence of this colloquial *no* which caused the feeling of omission rather than vice versa? If the connection is meant to be a diachronic one, why should such a change take place? What was wrong with the original omitted construction? A possible answer might be that this change and the one noted in (2) are closely related. That is, the morphological distinction between *sue* and *hiki/nabiki*, incomplete though it was, still allowed the latter forms to be recognized as subordinate; when it was lost, a new subordination marker was needed. Though Nariakira mentions both changes in the same discussion, it is not clear whether he sees them as related, and if so in what way.

Similar difficulties arise with Nariakira's other piece of evidence, the possibility of finding a suitable noun to fill the omitted position. His example (t) in (4) may be supplemented by those in (9) if we assume suitable contexts. However, it is difficult to see what nouns might be supplied in the example poems cited in (10) and (11) which would preserve the meaning. Consider sentence (u) taken from the text of (2) and its colloquial version according to Nariakira.

- (u) *mina nabikasite ukuru nari*                    'they are all ones which require a *nabiki*'  
*mina nabikasite ukeru no de aru*

In context, we can suggest an appropriate noun to be supplied, as in (u')

- (u') *mina nabikasite ukuru ayui nari*    'they are all *ayui* which require a *nabiki*'  
*mina nabikasite ukeru ayui de aru*

Under this interpretation, the sentences in (u) are taken to be of the form *X(wa) Y nari* or *X wa Y de aru* 'X is Y'. Nothing in the examples corresponds to X, but in context it may be taken to be *sue o uketaru ayui* 'ayui which require a *sue*' or the corresponding colloquial expression.

However the analysis just suggested, though not impossible, is unlikely to reflect what Nariakira intended when he wrote (2). There is another way to analyze sentences like (u), in which the main predicate is not *Y nari* or *de aru*, but *ukuru* or *ukeru*. Under this interpretation, (u) is taken as parallel not to (u') but to (u'').

- (u'') *mina nabikasite uku*                                    'they all require a *nabiki*'  
*mina nabikasite ukeru*

These are transitive sentences of the basic form *X Ysu* or *X ga Ysuru* 'X does Y'.

In (u) *nari* or *de aru* is functioning as a kind of auxiliary which, while not meaningless, has no semantic relation to the internal structure of the sentence to which it is attached. Morphologically, however, it motivates the *hiki/nabiki* or the colloquial *no*.

Consider also the following example from the text of (4).

(v) *sue o ukuru ga tune nite*                      'those which require a *sue* are usual'  
*sue o ukeru no ga tune de*

The same noun could be supplied in (v') as in (u').

(v') *sue o ukuru ayui ga tune nite*                      'ayui which require a *sue* are usual'  
*sue o ukeru ayui ga tune de*

However, as before, this probably does not reflect what Nariakira intended to say. The subject of (v) may be understood as things with the property *sue o ukuru* or *sue o ukeru*, but it may also be understood as the property itself. Under this interpretation, (v) is parallel not to (v') but to (v'').

(v'') *sue o ukuru koto ga tune nite*                      'to require a *sue* is usual'  
*sue o ukeru koto ga tune de*

*Koto* is a noun, but it is unclear whether this kind of noun is supposed to be included in Nariakira's remarks in (4).

Based on (u) through (v''), there would seem to be at least three constructions represented: the one in (u') and (v'), which contain relative clauses; the one in (v''), which contains a nominalized clause, and the one in (u''), which contains no subordinate clause at all. All three may occur with no overt noun head in literary Japanese, and with *no* in the colloquial, as in (u) and (v). But all three also occur with meaningful head nouns: (u') and (v') illustrate this for relative clauses, and (w) and (x) for the rest, again taken from Nariakira's text in (2) and (4).

(w) *tune ni nabikasite nomi ihu narai to nareri*  
       'it became the custom to say only the *nabiki*'  
*tune ni nabikasite nomi ihu narai ni natta*

(x) *hito to ihu na o habukitari to kokorouru yue nari*  
       'so we understand the noun *hito* to be omitted'  
*hito to ihu na o habuita to kokoroeru yue de aru*

(w) contains a nominalized clause, and (x) a nominal auxiliary. The three constructions are semantically quite distinct, but morphologically identical.

Nariakira's examples (r) and (t) in (4) are relative clauses; the poem quoted in (11) contains an auxiliary, and the poem quoted in (10) may contain a nominalized clause. Consider finally the following example from the text of (9).

- (y) *yosoi no hiki/nabiki o uketaru wa no wa to iu*  
       'the one which requires a *hiki/nabiki* becomes *no wa*  
*yosoi no hiki/nabiki o ukeru no wa, no wa to iu*

Unlike (u) or (v), this sentence contains an unambiguous relative clause, as does its colloquial counterpart. The reason is that neither of the alternatives is possible. The predicate *no wa to iu* cannot act as an auxiliary, nor can it take a nominalized clause subject. Thus, in context, (y) is understood as (y').

- (y') *yosoi no hiki/nabiki o uketaru wa wa no wa to iu*  
       'the *wa* which requires the *hiki/nabiki* of a *yosoi* becomes *no wa*  
*yosoi no hiki/nabiki o ukeru no wa wa, no wa to iu*

Though *wa* is ordinarily used as a grammatical postposition, here we have the metalinguistic name of the postposition, which is a noun.

We can see from examples like (y) and the relative clause interpretations of (u) and (v) that the omission of the head noun is an instance of so-called 'anaphoric deletion'. That is, when the identity of the noun is clear in context, it need not appear syntactically. Anaphoric deletion is not applicable to the other two constructions; that is, neither *narai* in (w) nor *yue* in (x) could be omitted without loss of information, regardless of context. Even the occurrence or non-occurrence of *koto* in (v'') versus (v) in the nominalized clause interpretation is not anaphoric deletion, since the context is irrelevant. If there are conditions under which *koto* must or may not appear, this is due to the content of the clause or to the particular predicate with which it is construed.

Thus the two pieces of evidence cited by Nariakira to support his analysis of omitted nouns really apply at different levels. The colloquial *no* is a morphological or syntactic phenomenon, but the restoration of the anaphorically deleted head noun of a relative clause is a semantic phenomenon. The status of the noun which is not there is different in the two cases. That Nariakira mentions the feeling that a noun has been omitted in (4) but not in (9), (10) or (11) may suggest an awareness of this difference. On the other hand, the explicit limitation of the remarks in (4) to those *ayui* which can be followed either by a *sue* or *hiki/nabiki* is not very helpful. Nominalized clauses may be followed by such *ayui*, and relative clauses need not be, as we have observed. Perhaps both Nariakira's formulation of the analysis and his failure to bring out all the important distinctions simply reflects his primary concern with linguistic form and morphology.

We may now return briefly to Norinaga's analysis in the light of the discussion above. The point of immediate interest is whether his term *tuzuku* itself is limited to the semantic relation which characterizes relative clauses (like the omitted noun), or whether it covers the range of constructions which are morphologically and syntactically similar (like the colloquial *no*). It may be significant that Norinaga's examples of *tuzuku* (d), (e) and (f) in (1) all contain relative clauses. In order to interpret *tuzuku* as specifically applying to the relative clause structure, we would need either an explicit exclusion by Norinaga of auxiliaries and nominalized clauses, or an explicit characterization of it in terms which apply only to relative clauses. There is no exclusion; but to determine whether Norinaga clearly identifies the relative clause structure, we need to discuss its properties.

In addition to the anaphoric deletability of the head noun, the important characteristic of the relative clause construction is the semantic relation between the head noun and the clause. In a relative construction, the head noun has two semantic roles: one explicit within the sentence or clause in which it appears, the other implicit within the relative clause itself. Thus in (y'), the head noun *wa* is explicitly the subject of *no wa to iku*; but it is also the subject of the relative clause, as in (y'').

(y'') *wa wa yosoi no hiki/nabiki o uketari*  
       '*wa* requires the *hiki/nabiki* of a *yosoi*'

In fact, it might be possible to attribute the non-appearance of this clause subject *wa* in (y') to anaphoric deletion; if so, it is a case of obligatory deletion.

This semantic relation never holds for nominalized clauses or auxiliaries. In (w) the noun *narai* has a semantic role in its sentence with respect to the verb *nareri*, and the entire clause *tune ni nabikasite nomi iku* has a semantic relation to *narai*, specifying its content, so to speak. But *narai* has no semantic role within the clause with respect either to *nabikasite* or to *iku*. To the extent that the subjects or objects of these verbs are not overt, they are understood to be other than the *narai* which has a semantic role with respect to *nareri*. The same can be said for *yue* in (x). It is the predicate of the entire sentence; the clause *hito to iku na o habukitari to kokorouru* has a semantic relation to it, but it has none inside the clause, either to *habukitari* or to *kokorouru*.

In (1), Norinaga gives examples (a), (b) and (c) to contrast the *kiruru tenioha* with the *tuzuku tenioha* of the poems (d), (e) and (f). In accordance with our discussion above, if these had been as in (a'), (b') and (c'), we would have had unmistakable evidence that Norinaga refers to the relation between a relative clause and its head nominal.

- (a') 風花(を)散しぬ
- (b') 鶯枝になきつ
- (c') もみじ葉川にながる

That the difference between (a), (b) and (c) on the one hand, and (a'), (b') and (c') on the other is more than just an oversight is shown by the verbs *sakinu* in (a) versus *tirasinu* in (a'). *Hana tirinu* 'flowers scattered' is a possible Japanese sentence, but its meaning is somewhat different from *hana tirinuru* in (d).

That is, restoring the deleted nominal there involves verb morphology in a way that a similar restoration in (e) or (f) would not. Rather than give an example like (a'), Norinaga may have chosen to abandon even the degree of parallelism he used in the other cases by changing the verb.<sup>注8</sup>

We are then ultimately unable to pin either Norinaga or Nariakira down as to the status of *tuzuku* as applying to relative clauses in particular, or to all instances of *hiki/nabiki* irrespective of their semantics. As in the previous case of the subject of *kiruru* and *tuzuku*, we no doubt have a failure to raise an interesting question rather than a failure to answer one satisfactorily. And as before, some explanation for the failure can be sought in the structure of the language being analyzed: Japanese might, but does not, distinguish between relative clauses, nominalized clauses, and auxiliary-like nominal predicates at the morphological or syntactic level. Here, however, no simple change of word order will suffice, and by and large literary Chinese is similar to Japanese in not clearly differentiating relative from nominalized clauses. If we turn to English, the necessary points can be made, though the comparison is complex.

Let us consider various ways to render (v) into English. If we supply a head noun as in (v'), we will have (z').

- (z') the suffixes which follow a sue are usual

If we assume a context in which the head noun suffix is anaphorically deleted, we will have (z).

- (z) the ones/those which follow a sue are usual

On the other hand, if we take a nominalized clause interpretation, (v'') will correspond to (z'').

- (aa) that the suffixes follow a sue is usual
- (aa') that they follow a sue is usual

As can be seen from the contrast between (z), (z'), (aa) and (aa'), anaphoric deletion in English typically leaves a morphological trace, whether a demonstrative, relative or personal pronoun. It is possible in many cases to dispense with

注8 Examples like (a) illustrate a difference between Japanese and English relative clause constructions, and require further investigation.

a relative pronoun, or with the subject pronoun of a nominalized clause.

(z'') the ones/those that follow a sue are usual  
(aa'') to follow a sue is usual

However, the results remain morphologically or syntactically distinct, and there is no English clause which can express both senses of (v).

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